

WINCHESTER DAILY BULLETIN.

"THE WILL OF A PEOPLE RESOLVED TO BE FREE IS LITTLE LESS THAN OMNIPOTENT."

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The Daily Bulletin.

W. J. SLATTER, PROPRIETOR.

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WINCHESTER, TENN., Feb. 6, '63.

MR. EDITOR:—Dear Sir: I hand you the Cincinnati Enquirer of recent date, containing much valuable information. Let me especially call your attention to the article, headed, "Is this a hopeful war." The point made is that the object of the North cannot be accomplished by fighting, and certainly an article of so much point and force ought to be read in the South by every body. The statement of facts by the editor is the most remarkable that has been publicly made in the North, so far as I have been able to see since the war commenced. I hope you will republish it.

See also the article headed "What the Abolitionists in Congress and the White House are striving to do."

Yours truly, A. S. COLYAR.

Is this a Hopeful War?

"The idea that there is some method of restoring the Union other than that of force of arms has become so prevalent, and is so without warrant, in the condition of the country, that we suppose it may be fairly termed a popular delusion."—*Commercial of Jan. 14.*

On an average about twice in each week the Commercial takes pains to inform its readers, in nearly the same terms, that the only hope of restoring the Union is by fighting the rebels until they are beaten and lay down their arms. Whether the Union as it was will be regained even then is a question it does not see fit to discuss. Whether a nationality which was created, and was supposed to exist by consent, can be restored and perpetuated by force—by a compulsory power continually exercised over its elements, is a point certainly worthy of some consideration. It seems to us that the word *restore*, in connection with such a process, is a misuse of terms; and that we had better choose some other more pertinent form of phraseology. The actual difference between force and consent, as bonds of national unity, is very striking; and the words which properly describe the one condition are hardly fit to describe the other.

The inference which the Commercial draws, and seeks to have drawn from its promise is, that the war must be continued: that in spite of reverses, in spite of discouraging prospects, in spite of what approaches a demonstration that the rebels can not be subdued, by force of arms, the fighting, the expenditure, the wearing up of our armies must still go on inexorably and perpetually.

Now, we have a question to put to the Commercial; the Commercial may answer it or not, as it pleases, and probably will not; for while the Commercial is eminently desirous of the honors which attach to the organship of its party, it is not overanxious to assume the responsibilities, in other words it would be a party organ so far as the thing is profitable, and not a party organ so far as it threatens to be otherwise. But the people will answer—to themselves. They are anxious. There is getting to be a "popular delu-

sion" or a popular something else upon the subject; we judge that it is not a popular delusion, or the Commercial would ere this time have fallen into it, as it does with that sort of thing in general; for the propensity of that concern to get astride of a humbug is as well established and notorious as that of the beggar for other equestrian performances.

The question which we ask the liberty to propound to the Commercial is this: Suppose that in the opinion of rational men, well conversant with the subject, it is impossible to subdue the South and compel it back to a political connection with the North by force of arms, would it be advisable any longer to continue the war? This is a test question; and taking for granted what remains to be proven—that the Commercial is honest, frank, disinterested, and sincerely desirous to promote the best good of the country and the people—we will point out the logical consequences which will attach to affirmative and negative responses.

Suppose it says aye; the question then arises: For what is the war, hopeless of resorting the Union, to be prosecuted? The Commercial is one of those journals which, while professing extraordinary devotion to the Union, has exhibited more interest in obtaining freedom for the negro than in preserving the franchises of the white man; and if it favors carrying on the war after all hopes of subjugating the South are at an end, the inference will be that its object has been from the beginning to break up the domestic relations of the South, and that this enterprise it is still unwilling to relinquish. An affirmative response will put the war, so far as the Commercial can do it, upon the footing of a war waged upon slavery; and will negate all its past declarations that it has been prosecuted for any other purpose.

Suppose it says nay, it will then be pertinent to ask: Is not the question, whether there are any real foundations for the hope of subjugating the South by force of arms, one worthy to be discussed? Is it not a great and vital question—the all-important question of the time; and ought there not to be freest interchange of opinions upon it?

Admitting for the sake of the argument, that the idea, that there is some method of restoring the Union, other than by force of arms, is a popular delusion; let us ask: Is there any hope of restoring the Union by force of arms? Or—laying aside cant and inappropriate phrases—is there any hope of subduing the South, breaking up the Confederacy and bringing back the insurgent sections, either to willing allegiance or unwilling obedience to the Government by any process now in use for the purpose? This is a question which they who urge on the war ought to answer, and answer satisfactorily. It does not cover their case to say that the Union can be restored in no other way. Can it be restored in the way they prescribe? If not, they are answerable for the losses that accrue from the prosecution of a hopeless contest. They who urge on a war ought to be able to give rational assurances that, if prosecuted, it will be successful. Can the Commercial give such assurances?

Now, we have not within the last six months conversed with a single man of the army, officer or soldier, who even pretended to believe that the Union could be restored, or the South subdued by all the force that the North could bring into the field. More than three-fourths of the army, rank and file, are fully of the opposite opinion. That opinion is every day growing stronger and stronger. It has come to be a settled and practical belief. The belief itself would be, under different and better conditions, a formidable obstacle to success, and in the present case it is almost conclusive.

Nor is this opinion confined to the army. It would be difficult to find a man of any party, at all conversant with the facts, who is willing to affirm that he is fully convinced that the South can be subdued. This may be a popu-

lar delusion; but if it is so, it is one which the organs of the Administration and the advocates of the war should combat; not by proscription and denunciation, which are signs of weakness, but by fact and argument.

We understand the Commercial and its collaborators in this field. By asserting that the Union can be restored in no other way than by fighting, they endeavor to escape the material point in the case: Can it be restored by fighting? Let them answer this, as well for their own sakes as for that of the country. For if they are aiding to hold the people and the Government to a hopeless war, fearful is the account that will be footed up against them in the sequel. Our country is bleeding at every pore. Our wealth is being wasted. Our citizens are falling beneath the fire of the enemy and the equally deadly influence of Southern malaria in countless multitudes; and if all this is in vain, and manifestly in vain, let those who have urged and are urging it on look to themselves when the day of retribution brings with it retributive justice.

What the Abolitionist in Congress and the White House are Striving to do.

The Washington City Republican, an Administration organ, in an article on the Emancipation Proclamation, says:

"That lullaby of knaves and fools, 'the Union as it was,' has outraged the common sense of the country long enough. The Union as it was is buried in a grave from which there is no resurrection. No Union is now possible, except of free States."

We like the plain speaking of the Republican. We agree with it that the Union as it was is buried in a grave from which there is no resurrection. Radical Abolitionism consigned it there, and threw 'the clods of the valley' upon it. Lincoln, with spade in hand, acting as sexton. Neither he nor they have any tears to shed over it; nor will they plant a flower on the grave where it is buried, as a memento of their affection for the departed. They murdered the Union and have buried it, and are now seeking to construct a new one, better fitted to their tastes than the old one. "No Union," we are told, "is now possible, except of free States."

It was that we might have a Union of none but free States that this war was begun, has been and is being prosecuted by the Administration. Congress and the Executive seem to have combined to make a reunion between the free and slave States impossible.—We need not recount the various acts of these two departments of the Government pointing in that direction.—They are familiar to every one. One-half their object has been accomplished; the Union has been overthrown. Shall they be permitted in their own way to construct a new one? Are "We the People" to have no hand in the work? Is it to be done under "a military necessity," or under the "war power" of the Constitution?

We protest against any such assumption of power on the part of Congress and the Executive, or either? If a new Union is to be formed, and we suppose that has become a necessity by the destruction of the old one, the example of the Fathers of the Republic must be followed. Each State must act as a sovereign and independent body, and meet its co-sovereign and co-independent States in Convention "to form a more perfect Union." It must be done by dependent, separate State action, as was the case when the Confederation was abandoned, and a more perfect Union formed. The States should not permit Congress and the Executive to make for them a new Union—to decide what shall be its character. The assumption on the part of the Republican, as well as on the part of the Abolitionists in Congress and the White House, to form a new Union, of a character different from the old one, without the consent of the States, will never be submitted to by

the people. Nor should it be submitted to. It is a violation of the great fundamental principle upon which all free government rests—the right of the people themselves to "institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." And, yet, we find the Abolition leaders endeavoring to override that sacred right by attempting to form a new government without the consent of the people of the respective States.—It is an impudent assumption of power that demands the indignant rebuke of the people.

* COL. ZARVONA.—A letter from New-York, published in the Baltimore Sun, 1 the 19th ultimo, says:

A released Fort Lafayette prisoner says that there are still in the fort about thirty live prisoners, but mostly Confederates. Prominent among them as the oldest inhabitants are Col. Zarvona, better known as French lady, and Mr. John Hopkins, Jr., of Norfolk, Va. Col. Zarvona is still in solitary confinement and suffering the same punishment he has undergone for ten months. No prisoner is allowed to see or communicate with him, and therefore his present condition is not precisely known.

PIETY IN A GENERAL.—The Chaplain of the Fifth Kentucky Regiment writes of Kirby Smith:

Before going into the battle at Richmond, he spent a season alone in his tent in prayer. When the battle was over, he returned to his tent, and gave thanks to God for the victory. When at Lexington, Ky., the minister at the Episcopal Church refused to officiate on Thanksgiving day, and Gen. Smith arose, read a chapter, led in prayer, and finished the services.

Gunpowder made of paper is the latest novelty. A letter from Copenhagen says that the Royal Artillery Board, of Denmark, has just made successful experiments with the new material. Common packing paper was in the course of ten or fifteen minutes transformed into a very powerful kind of gunpowder, and a number of shots were fired with it.

Gen. Davies has been superceded at Columbus, Ky., by Gen. Asboth. So says a dispatch from Cairo. Gen. Davies is the hero of the New Madrid and Island 10 evacuation—operations which wreathed his brow with few laurels. Gen. Asboth is a Hungarian officer, and was for some time in command of the fortifications in and about this city.

DOG SKINS.—The agricultural papers of Georgia have been complaining for years of the immense number of dogs in that State, and a heavy dog-tax has been advocated as a means of reducing their number, but in vain. The plague seems now in a fair way to be removed, as dogs are in great demand for the manufacture of cotton cards.

NEW ITEM FOR BILL OF FARE.—A convivial wight, rather the worse for peach brandy, proposed to a friend to go and get some supper. Says he: "I want a half dozen partridges—hic some oysters—hic—and the etoeteras hic." "Come," says his friend, "I think you had better take a cab." "Cab be hic, I've not got to cab yet—I want the—hic—oysters first."

A late despatch from Indianapolis says: "Bills have been introduced in the House looking toward a stringent enforcement of the thirteenth article of the Constitution, prohibiting negro immigration. The Democracy will pass one or other of these bills. Lincoln's freed niggers cannot come into the State of Indiana."